

An Imperial

HISTORY  
OF THE  
LIFE  
AND  
DEATH  
OF  
GEORGE Lord JEFFREYS  
LATE  
Lord Chancellour  
OF  
ENGLAND.

(By James BENT)

LONDON,

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Printed by J. B. G. & Co. in the Strand

TO  
**GEORGE Lord JEFFREYS**  
L A T E  
Lord Chancellour of England.

My Lord,

**I** Know not to whom I could more properly Dedicate a Treatise of this Nature, than to your Lordship, who lately was Lord Chief Justice of England, and have set such remarkable Copies to inferiour Magistrates. What is here offered may serve as a Mirror, in which future Administrators of Publick Justice would do well to look; for you may remember, my Lord, (if your Lordships present Afflictions have not made you forget as much Law as you ever learnt) Common Law runs much upon Presidents: And if a Man happen to have none of the best Physionomies, there is no reason why he should straight grow angry, and sling stones, to break all the Looking-glasses he meets with, only because they represent the true Figure of the Object.

My Lord, The following Treatise is a true Account of your Lordships Life and Actions, (most of which are ready to be attested upon Oath) of your unheard of Cruelties and barbarous Proceedings in your whole Western Circuit: In which all may see at what dear rates our Western Martyrs purchased their Religion, and how that it cost those glorious Sufferers that so lately went off the Stage (under your Lordships Sentence)

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

both Whippings and cruel Imprisonments, and the most exquisite Tortures which none could invent or inflict but your Lordship, (whose good nature is sufficiently experienced) nor any endure but they whose gallant and noble Souls were born up with heavenly Cordials, and a Power from on high. But, my Lord, rest assured, that their Blood still cries for vengeance, and will be a lasting Monument of your Lordships Cruelties, whilst History can speak or transmit to incredulous Posterity the Remarkables of elapsed Ages; for Hang, Draw and Quarter, and Try Men afterwards, (Witness Sir Thomas Armstrong's death, &c.) has been your peculiar Talent. But your Lordship will now at last do well to remember that King Alfred caused forty four Judges in one year to be hang'd as murderers, for their false Judgments.

I hope your Lordship will pardon this present Address, seeing it is a privilege we modern Authors hold by prescription, to put any great Body's Name in the Front of our Book: Princes have not been able to exempt themselves or their Families from the Persecution of Dedications; nor ever was there (I humbly conceive) any Rule made in your Lordships Court to forbid them.

Suffer then, I beseech your Lordship, this Address to remain a Monument to Posterity, of the sentiments this Age has of your Lordships Conduct and Merits; and Witness to all the World how much its Author is

Your Lordships

Most humble Servant,

James Bent.

THE



THE  
LIFE and DEATH  
OF  
GEORGE Lord JEFFREYS.

**R** Eader, Think it not strange if I present you with the memorable *Life and Actions* of a Person, so well known in this great Kingdom: And peradventure *Fame* has not been silent in other Countreys, especially since he has been advanced to be a *Chief Minister of State*, and late as it were steering at the Helm of Government. Various indeed are the Changes of worldly Affairs, and the Actions of Human Life, which have been more particularly exemplified in the *Rise and Fall* of the Person, the Subject of this Discourse; who from almost a mean obscurity, soar'd to the lofty *Pyramid* of Honour; where for a while, like an unfixed Star, he appeared to the Eyes of the wondring Nation, giving an imperfect lustre; till by the sudden turn and change of unsteady Fortune, he dropt headlong from his *Sphere*, and lost at once his Grandeur and his Power. To let Mankind see how little trust there is

to be given to the smiles of *flattering Greatness*, especially when attained by violent and pressing motions: I now proceed to *trace* this unfortunate Favourite in the sundry Capacities and Stations that have hitherto made up the Series of his Life.

He was born at *Aston* near *Wrexham* in *Denbighshire*, in *Wales*, about the Year 1648. his Fathers name was——*Jeffreys*, being reputed a Gentleman in that Country, though of no large Fortune or Estate; however he lived very comfortably on what he had, improving his yearly Income by his Industry; and gain'd by his plain and honest Endeavours a good repute amongst the Gentry of those Parts; infomuch that it was not long before he, upon the recommendation of some Person of Interest and Ability, gain'd a Wife of a good House; and they lived very comfortably together in their *rural Habitation*, being far from Ambition, or striving for Court-favour; but contented with what God had blessed them with, and the fruits of their own Industry, they found a solid Happiness in that Contentment. Nor had they lived together any considerable time, but amongst other Children, the fruits of Wedlock, God was pleased to bestow on them the Person who is intended the *Subject* of this Discourse, who was in due time Baptized by the Christian Name of *George*; whether he had *Godfathers*, &c. it does not occur; however, he under the care and diligence of his industrious Parents grew up, and appear'd to all that studied him, of a very prompt and ready Wit, active, and striving for Pre-eminence, even among his Compeers in his tender

## George Lord Jeffreys.

der Age, which lively demonstrated that an Air of Ambition was inherent to his Person.

As soon as he was capable to receive Learning, he was put to a Country School, where he was furnished with such Education as that afforded, which was not extraordinary; yet his Natural Parts set it off to the best Advantage; and growing to years of somewhat a ripe Understanding, and not very tractable, his Father by the Advice of some of his Confidants, caused him to be brought to *London*, and finding him not inclinable to any Trade, but rather addicted to Study, he entred him, or by his procurement he was entred into the Free School of *Westminster*, where he profited much; so that he was, by the care of the worthy Master thereof, soon enabled to understand the Languages, or at least so many of them as were convenient for the study of the Law, which above other things, he aimed at; tho' his Father seemed not very pleasurable to his desires, for perceiving in his Soul a more than ordinary Spark of Ambition, fearing it might kindle into a flame, and prove one Day his ruine, he laboured to hinder the ways he conceiv'd most likely to bring it upon him; and is reported to say (when he found he could not dissuade him from what he purposed, gently clapping him on the back,) *Oh George, George, I fear thou wilt dye with thy Shoes and Stockings on*; What he meant by that Expression, I determine not, but leave the Reader to interpret.

Upon the Coming in of King *Charles* the Second, and the restoring the Face of Affairs in the Kingdom, the Law reviv'd again, and began to flourish; the Practitioners liv'd in much Credit and

Reputation, and many of them purchased large Estates, which served to wing the desire of this Person with impatience; and some say he was the rather incited to it by a *Dream* he had whilst a Scholar at *Westminster School*, viz. *That he should be the chief Scholar in that School, and afterwards should enrich himself by Study and Industry, and that he should come to be the second Man in the Kingdom; but in conclusion, should fall into great disgrace and misery.* This is confidently reported; and some say himself told it to sundry Persons, since when he found the second part of it was fulfilled, by acquiring the *Chancellourship*, and standing high in the Favour of his Prince.

However, We find the latter part did not deter him from his purpose; for having entered himself in the *Inner-Temple House*, one of the Chief Inns of Court, after his performing such things as are conformable to the Customs of the House, we find him call'd to the Bar, by the Interest he made with the Benchers and Heads of that Learned Society, earlier than had been usual, leaping over the Heads of elder Graduates.

This happening about the Twentieth year of the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, and the City of *London* beginning to raise her self out of her Ashes, more stately and magnificent than before she sunk in Flames, a Sacrifice to the Revenge and Malice of the Papists, as by the late Inscription on the Monument, and upon Record it appears: This great City, I say, regaining her Trade, her Privileges and Customs were kept up with great exactness, so that in the Courts at *Guild-Hall* there was much Business; which being considered

sider'd by this Person as more beneficial than that at *Westminster*, by reason of its frequency, and being carried on briefer, and with less difficulty; which induced him to give his Attendance as also at *Hines-Hall*, and other inferior Courts and Places; insomuch, that he being of a bold Presence, and having naturally a fluent Tongue, an audible Voice, and good Utterance, he had not pleaded often before he was very much taken Notice of; and gain'd so much Credit with the People, that they prefer'd him before any of the younger sort of *Barristers*; by which means he found his Stars begin to smile upon him; so that he was in a manner Court'd to take Fees, and had Breviates thrust into his Hand frequently in the middle of a Cause by Persons, when they perceived it went ill on their sides, and was like to go against them.

Thus *subsid* with success, he now thought of nothing more than how he might climb; nor did he want an Opportunity; for the next Station we find him in, is that of *Common Serjeant*, to the great and honourable City of *London*; and so much Fortune favour'd him at this time, that *Alderman Jeffreys* the great Smoker, having often observ'd his Discourse and Actions, took such a liking to him, that being of the same Name, tho' not in the least any Relation, he back'd him with his Purse and Interest, which was not inconsiderable; and thereby not only enabled him to carry on his Grandeur, but to purchase as he found a conveniency or advantage, in order to his keeping it up in the World.

These,

These, I say, being the *Degrees* by which he was climbing the slippery stair of Honour, to contract a firmer alliance, he Addressed himself to a brisk young Widow, Daughter to Sir Thomas Bludworth, then one of the Aldermen of the City, and who in the time of the dreadful Conflagration had the Chair, as being then *Lord Mayor*, and so far prevail'd upon the Lady and her Father, that he gain'd both their Consents, and the Contract was made, the Nuptials solemnized, And soon after he had the pleasure to behold the Fruit of her Labour. Sir John Howel the Recorder of London giving place, the *Recordership* became vacant, which made this Person lay hold of that Opportunity, to use his own and the Interest of his Friends, to acquire that Place of Trust and Honour: nor did his Measures fail him, for by the powerful Influence he had by this time gain'd over sundry Persons, who were best able to promote him to what he so earnestly labour'd to arrive at, he was chosen and confirm'd Recorder of the Honourable City; taking upon him the Charge and Care of the Writings, Papers, &c. that belong to so great a Charge and Trust, as that of a Recorder of the City of London.

By this means being become (as himself declared) *The Mouth of the City*, and as we may term him, Capital Judge in the *Guild-Hall*, in Controversies at the Sessions held there, &c. and the Power of breathing forth Sentences of Punishment being put into his hands, he found his Ambition enlarg'd, aiming at nothing more than to become a *Court-Favourite*: Nor was it long before an Opportunity offer'd it self, to make him  
to

to be taken notice of: For so it happened, that some Persons had imprinted a *Psalter*, and Entituled it (the better to shadow the Injury they had done to the Company of Stationers, by invading their Property) *The King's Psalter*, which occasioning a Dispute, it was referred to a Hearing before the Council at *Whitehall*, the King being present, and the Company the better to make out their Title and Claim, carried with them this Person as their Counsel, who in the opening of the Case, and making the Complaint of the apparent Injury done to the Company, in printing what was really their Propriety, he had this Expression, *viz. They hade seem'd with a spurious Brar, which being clandestinely midwiv'd into the World, the better to cover the Imposture, they lay it at your Majesties door, &c.* This, though the King might have taken it (for sundry Reasons) as a Reflection upon his Royal Person, yet he was so far from resenting it that way, that he only turned to one of the Lords that sat next him, and said, *This is a bold Fellow. I'll warrant him.* And indeed the Stationers had the Matter declar'd by the Honourable Board in their Favour.

About this time the Popish Plot being discovered by Dr. *Otes* and others, the Nation was for a while in a Ferment, and matters run extremely high in Disputes and Controversies, and he sail'd with the Current, declaring with much heat and violence against the Priests, Jesuits, and others of the Conspirators and Romish Faction; as appeared not only by his vehement expressions in pleading against him, but the alacrity and little concern that was visible in his Countenance, when

at



## The Life and Death of

at any time, as Recorder of *London*, he past sentence of Death upon any of them; which he frequently did with more or less reproach, and became in a manner the terror of that Party. But no sooner he perceiving the wind tacking at Court, and that there was some misunderstanding between King *Charles* the Second and his Parliament, but he began to fall off, and grow cold in prosecuting the ends of the Government, being frequently at Court, and labouring as much as in him lay to draw the Magistracy of the City after him; as appears more especially by one passage, viz. The King being recovered off an Indisposition, that had for some time put the Kingdoms in a fear and doubt of his Life, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went to congratulate him upon his going abroad; after which, and a favourable reception, it was proposed by this Person, that they should in like manner wait upon his Royal Highness, then Duke of *York*, who was not long before returned from *Flanders*; but perceiving no forwardness to be seconded, he only with his Father-in-law stayed behind to gain that Access. These and other Proceedings created in the City a Jealousie, that he had espoused an Interest to their prejudice, which wrought so strongly in their Conceits, that it was concluded in the Council-Chamber at *Guild-Hall*, that he should resign his Recordership; and accordingly they sent to him to deliver back the Papers and Writings they had entrusted him with, which accordingly was done, and Sir *George Treby* constituted Recorder in his stead. This so nettled him, that he now openly declar'd himself to be what before was only suspected,



ed, indulging his thoughts in nothing more, than how he might revenge it upon the Dissenters, to whose influence on the Court of Aldermen he attributed his dismission from the Recorder-ship, and used his Endeavours to blacken them as much as he could: Yet all his Honour was not sunk, for he had prevailed for the Removal of Sir Job Charlerton from the Chief Justiceship of the County Palatine of *Chester*, and by the importunity and interest of his Party at Court, gained it for himself; and took the first Possession of that Charge in much splendor, paying at that time his Father a Visit with a numerous Train, which, as 'tis reported, put the old Gentleman into such a fret, for the drinking up his Cyder, and devouring his Provisions, that he charged him with the undertaking to ruine him, by bringing a whole Countrey at his heels, commanding him never to attempt the like Prodigality again with hopes of success.

Many Petitions being put up upon the dissolving the Parliament in 1682. by most of the Counties, and Burroughs, and Corporations of *England*, for the speedy calling another, to redress the Grievances of the Nation; and the King shewing some dislike of that manner of proceeding, this Person further to endear himself to the Interest of the Court, declared in his Station as vehemently against them, by saying, *He abhorred that Petitioning*, &c. from which, and the discountenancing the Petitioners as much as in him lay, he gain'd the name and Epithite of an *Abhorrer*; and upon the burning the Pope in Effigies at *Temple-Bar*, upon the Birth-day of Queen *Elizabeth*, amongst other Figures,

Figures, the Arch-waggs had set one on Horse-back with his Face to the Tail, and a Paper on his back, viz. *I am an Abhorrer*.

During these Transactions, the Parliament being called, met at *Westminster*, and amongst others, this Person was called before them, for attempting to intrench upon the Rights and Privileges of the People, &c. and obliged at the Bar of the Commons House, (after having been heard what he could say in defence of his Proceedings by his Council) to make his acknowledgment upon his Knees, and receive the Reprimand of the Speaker; whereupon, with some sharp Rebukes, as the Censure of the House, he was discharged.

To comfort him in this affliction, that was not by a man of his haughty Spirit a little stomacked, this Parliament being dissolved, and a call of Serjeants had at the *Kings-Bench-Bar, Westminster*, he was the first in the Roll, and consequently the Kings Serjeant; and as it is usual to present the King with a Ring on that occasion, the Motto he agreed to was, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex*, viz. *The King from God, and the Law from the King*. And now the Popish Party playing their Cards with more security, *Edward Fitz-Harris*, who had been impeached by the Commons, and stood charged by them of High Treason; being nevertheless, upon the Dissolution, tryed at the King-Bench-Bar, this Person was the principal Stickler against him, and by his Rhetorical and florid expressions, wrought so powerfully with the Jury, who were somewhat in doubt what they should do in this Case, that they found him Guilty, and the Impeachment in Parliament set aside, he was executed

ecuted as a Traytor at Tyburn : and soon after this, the Dissenters losing of their Esteem in the eyes of the Court-Party, and some Justices of Peace of *Middlesex* being sharp upon them, this Person was chosen Chair-man at the Sessions at *Hicks's-Hall*, where he had an opportunity to make them as he found his time, see the resentments of his anger ; but this place being held too low for a Spirit winged with so large an ambition, he aimed at higher things, resolving like *Icarus* to be near the Sun, tho at the hazard of melting his waxen Wings, dropping headlong into the Sea of inevitable ruine : Whereupon perceiving some hot Contests in the City of *London*, about the Election of Magistrates and Officers, he turned the Edge of his Fury that way, insomuch that a *Quo warranto* came down against the Charter of the Honourable City of *London*, and in fine, after much pleading and argument, *pro & contra*, the Charter was surrendred, at least in consent, by those that were in Power, and the King suspending the Execution of the Judgment obtained, caused such Orders to be observed as he thought most convenient, which being so well known to the Citizens of *London*, it would appear a presumption in me to enter upon particulars ; yet the chiefest Cavil against the City was, taking the Toll of Markets, collecting Money to build *Cheapside* Conduit, &c. Nor was it long after this, and the Trial of several Persons for Rioters, who attended the Election of Sheriffs and Mayor, and the Fines passing upon many worthy Citizens as Rioters on that occasion ; in promoting which, this Person as a Counsellor by his florid Rhetorick

was

was mainly instrumental, by giving the Court an account of their respective abilities, the better to settle the Fines : but the Lord Chief Justice *Saunders* dying, he succeeded him as Lord Chief Justice of the *Kings-Bench* ; in which station he was scarcely settled, but he admitted the Popish Lords to Bail, that lay under an impeachment in Parliament, and whose bailing had been refused by the Judges his Predecessors ; and now it was that he began more particularly to remember former affronts, an example of which take in the Case of *Elias Best* a Hop-Merchant in *Thames-street*, viz.

It so happened when this Person was Recorder of *London*, that a Jury, of which *Best* was one, having contrary to his mind, acquitted a Party indicted at the Sessions of Peace in *Guild-Hall*, for Printing and Publishing a Pamphlet, he in much heat declared, that they had gone contrary to their Consciences, and stuck not to upbraid them with Perjury ; for which, as a high affront put upon the Juries of *London*, they prayed the Court at the *Old-Bayly*, that they might prefer an Indictment against him ; and herein Mr. *Best* was the most active ; but the Lord Chief Justice *Soroggs* then upon the Bench, after it had been a long time argued and debated, told them, that the Sessions being almost at an end, it could not be tryed, and therefore he would desire them to refer it to the next Sessions, for the Recorder being a Person of Quality, he could not suffer him to lie under the imputation of an Indictment so long ; but in the interim, he resigning his Recordership, the business fell, and came to nothing ; but soon after, it seems, Mr. *Best* had drank an Health to the pi-

ous Memory of *Stephen Colledge* departed, meaning the Joyner that was executed at *Oxford*, for which he was indicted upon an Information, and found Guilty; yet he being at large, thought fit to withdraw himself to avoid the rigour of the Fine, &c. when so it fell out, that this Person going the Circuit as Lord Chief Justice, accompanied with a great many on Horseback, Mr. *Best* came by, and asked one of the Company what Judge that was, who replied, the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys*, and he unadvisedly told that Party his name was *Best*, and desired him to remember his Service to his Lordship; upon notice of which, he immediately caused him to be fetched back, and committed him to *Tork Goal*, from whence he was brought by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench*, and Imprisoned for a Fine of 500 l. &c. And other instances of the greatness of his Stomach, tho in another nature, is that which so remarkably happened at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, at the *Midsummer* Assizes held there for the County of *Surry*, 1679.

At this Assize being Counsel in a Case upon *Nisi prius*, before Sir *Richard Weston*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and desiring to ingross all the Questions, without suffering those on the other side to ask the Witness what was convenient in carrying on, and managing the Cause; he was desired by the Judges to hold his Tongue, &c. upon which some words passing, this Person told him, *He did not use him like a Counsellor, curbing him in the managing his Breviate, &c.* to which the Judge fiercely replied, *Ha! since the King has thrown his favours upon you, in making you Chief Justice of Chester, you think to run down every body; if*

you find your self aggrieved, make your complaint, here's no body cares for it. And this Person replying, That he had not been used to make complaints, but rather stopped those that were made: when being again commanded to hold his Tongue, he sat down and wept for anger, &c. And here by the way it will not be amiss to let the Reader have a taste of some passages that happened on the publick Stage of business, in the Jocular part of this great Man's Life, and the Repartees he met with, of which I shall instance a few:

Once it happened upon a Trial, that a plain Country Fellow giving Evidence in the Court, and pressing it home, moved this Person, who was Counsel on the other side, to pick a quarrel with the poor mans Leather Doublet, and amongst other Interrogations, bawl'd out *Tou Fellow in the Leather Doublet, pray what have you for swearing?* The man upon this, looking steadily on him, replied, *Truly Sir, if you have no more for Lying than I have for Swearing, you might wear a Leather Doublet as well as I.* This bluntly retorted, moved at that time much laughter, and filled the Town with the Discourse of it.

Another time it so fell out, that some Musicianers brought an Action against a person, at whose Wedding they had play'd, for the mony they were promised or expected, when in the midst of the Evidence, this Person called to one of them, *viz. Tou Fidler, &c.* at which the man seeming to be disgusted, he again, upon the Parties alledging himself to be a Musicianer, demanded *What difference there was between a Musicianer and a Fidler.* As much, Sir, said he, *as there is between a pair of Bag-pipe*

*pipes and a Recorder.* And he then being Recorder of *London*, it was taken as a suitable Repartee.

Being at a Country Assize as Judge, an old Man with a great Beard, came to give Evidence before him, and not doing it to his mind, he began to cavil with his Beard, and amongst other expressions told him, *That if his Conscience was as large as his Beard, he might well swear any thing.* This so nettled the old Blade, that without any respect to his greatness, he briskly replied, *My Lord, If you go about to measure Consciences by Beards, your Lordship has none.* Many more of this kind might be mentioned, but not being greatly to the purpose, they are willingly omitted.

But to return to the thrid of this Discourse; passing by his vehement and pressing Discourse to the Jury against *William Lord Russel*, on his Tryal at the *Old-Bayly*, which some say greatly influenced them to find him Guilty; and add, that he did it out of a pique, in remembrance he was one of the Members of the Parliament before whom he was brought on his Knees. We find him by this time Trying of *Dr. Titus Oates* upon two Informations, upon the account of his Swearing to the *White-Horse* Consult, and *Ireland's* being in Town; and after a long Debate, wherein many sharp Repartees passed, the Jury made a shift to find him Guilty; as to the Circumstances, I refer you to the Tryal; but the Sentence was severe, and of its effects few are ignorant; wherefore I shall pass it over, as also that of *Mr. Tho. Dangerfield*, another of the Evidences in discovering the Contrivances and carrying on of the Popish Plot, which the Pa-



pists by these manner of Proceedings accounted to be effectually sifted. And now before any thing remarkably happened, the Kingdom was alarm'd by the Landing of the late Duke of *Monmouth* at *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, and the Earl of *Argyle* in *Scotland*; but however these two unfortunate Gentlemen miscarrying, and losing their Lives, left a great many of their miserable Followers to feel the severity of Punishment; and as for the gleanings the bloody Fields in *England*, they came to the sifting of this Person, who with others, going down with a Commission to Try them, all the Indignities the Dissenters had put upon him came fresh into his remembrance, so that he made them find the Laws more cruel than the Sword, and wish they had fallen in the Field, rather than have come to his handling; for he breathed Death like a destroying Angel, and sanguined his very Ermins in Blood, a large Account of which you shall have in its proper place.

But by the way, for the sake of the *West-Country Reader*, I shall here add a true and impartial Narrative of the late Duke of *Monmouth's* whole Expedition while in the *West*, seeing that was the Prologue to that bloody Scene that you'll hear by and by, was acted by *George Lord Jeffreys*, (the Subject of our present Discourse.)

To begin then, *May 24. Old Style*, We left *Amsterdam* about Two of the Clock, being *Sunday Morning*, and in a Lighter sail'd for the *Texel*, our Vessels being sent before us thither; but meeting with extream cross Winds all the way, we arrived not till *Saturday Night*, and then went all on Bord. Here our *Man of War* with



with about 32 Guns, (where the Dukes Person was) was under an Arrest by order of the *States* of *Amsterdam*, on the complaint of our Envoy, they presuming we had been clear, but we broke through our Arrest, and *Sunday* Morning at break of Day, set sayl for *England*. We had in all three Ships; that of 32 Guns carried most of our Men, the other two were for our *Ammunition*. We met with exceeding cross Winds, most part of the time we spent on the Seas, and Arrived not at *Lime* till *Thursday*, *June* 11. so that from *Amsterdam* to *Lime*, we wanted but two days of three Weeks.

We Landed without any the least Opposition, and were received with all expressions of Joy imaginable; the Duke, as soon as he jump'd out of his Boat on Land, call'd for silence, and then desir'd we would joyn with him in returning God Thanks for that wonderful preservation we had met with at *Sea*, and accordingly fell on his Knees on the Sand, and was the mouth of us all in a short *Ejaculation*, and then immediately well Armed, as many as we were, entred the Town.

*Friday*, the whole day was spent in Lifting of Men, which flock'd to us so fast, that we could scarce tend them with Arms.

The like on *Saturday* also; and then about ten of the Clock at Night, 300 of our Men were sent to *Bridport*, about six *English* Miles off, to Storm that Town betimes in the Morning, which we did accordingly, taking many Prisoners out of their Lodgings; and had not our Soldiers been a little too eager of Plunder, we had made a good days

work on't ; but there lying about a Wood some of the Kings Forces, we were forced to retreat, losing three or four Men, and killing several of theirs, and taking Eight Prisoners ; this was the first Action which he had.

*Sunday* also was spent in Lifting ; and *Monday* Morning ; but in the Afternoon we marched out of *Lime* for *Axminster*, a little Town four Miles off ; our Party was near 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse, though we Landed but full an hundred Men, and all these in the space of four days : About two Miles from *Lime* we espied the Duke of *Albermarle*, with about 4000 Men, designing that Night to quarter in the same Town, which we had news of in the way ; yet we marched on in good order, and came into the Town, lined all Hedges, Planted our Field-Pieces, and expected nothing more than that we should give 'em battel, they being not an English Mile from the Town ; they made towards us as soon as they heard that we were there ; but the Duke of *Albermarle* finding his Men to be all *Militia-Men* of the County of *Devonshire*, and that they had no stomach to fight against *Monmouth*, Retreated, when he came within a quarter of an English Mile of the Town. He came from *Exon* with these Forces, intending to lay a siege against *Lime*, presuming we could not be ready in so short a time ; but finding us so well prepared to receive him, he wisely retired his Men, being in great disorder and confusion, supposing we had pursued them, which was *Debated* ; but the Duke said, *It was not his business to fight yet, till his Men had been a little Disciplin'd, but rather to make up into the Country as*  
fast

ast as possible, to meet his Friends, not questioning, but there would have been in several parts of the Kingdom some Action, on the News of his Success: But this in the end prov'd fatal to us; for had we but follow'd them, we had had all their Arms, several more men, and might have march'd in two days with little or no opposition, to the very Gates of Exon, the County-Troops resolving not to fight us; and several came to us that Night with their Arms. But missing this opportunity, we march'd on for Taunton, Lodging at several small Towns by the way, which still received us as kindly as possible, and all the way met with the loud Acclamations of the Country, praying God to succeed our Arms.

Thursday we came to Taunton, about twenty Mile from Lime. To give a particular Account of our Reception here, would be too tedious; the Streets throng'd with People we could scarce enter, all endeavouring to manifest their Joy at his coming, and their Houses, Doors, and Streets garnished with green Boughs, Herbs and Flowers, all the Emblems of Prosperity.

The next day, Twenty six young Gentlemen, Virgins, with Colours ready made at the charge of the Townsmen, presented them to his Grace; the Captain of them went before with a Naked Sword in one hand, and a small curious Bible in the other, which she presented also, making a short Speech, at which the Duke was extremely satisfied, and assured her, *He came now in the Field, with a design to defend the Truths contained therein, and to Seal it with his Blood, if there shou'd be any occasion for it.* Nothing now could content the Coun-

try, but he must be proclaimed King, which he seemed exceeding averse to ; and really I am of Opinion, from his very heart.

They said, *The Reason why the Gentry of England moved not, was because he came on a Commonwealth-Principle ;* This being the Cry of all the Army, he was forced to yield to it, and accordingly, *Saturday Morning* he was Proclaimed : In the Afternoon came out three PROCLAMATIONS, one setting a Sum of Mony on the Kings Head, as he had done before by the other. The Second, Declaring the Parliament of *England, A Seditious Assembly ;* and if they did not separate before the end of *June*, to give Power and Authority to any that would attempt to lay hold of them as Rebels and Traytors. The Third, To declare the Duke of *Albermarle* a Traytor, (who now lay within six Miles of us, having had time to Rally his Men,) if he laid not down his Arms ; forthwith a Message also was sent to command him, but he sent word, *That he was a Subject to JAMES the Second, the late Kings Brother, and that he knew no other Lord.*

We tarried here till *Sunday Morning*, and then march'd for *Bridge-water*, seven Miles from thence: We were now between four and five thousand Men, and had we not wanted Arms, could have made above ten thousand. We were received here as in other places, but did little more than Read our *Declaration*, which we did also in all other Towns, the Magistrates standing by in their Gowns ; and likewise our *Proclamations*, and so march'd forward for *Glassenbury* ; from *Glassenbury* design'd for *Bristol*, three days March from that Place, designing to Attaque it : Accordingly,

we arrived at *Cansham-Bridge*, a little Town three Miles English from *Bristol*, intending to enter next morning, the Duke of *Beaufort* being there with a Garrison of about *Four Thousand Men*, being here lodg'd in the Town, we were on a sudden Alarm'd with the noise of the Approach of the Enemy, being in no small Confusion on this unsuspected News: The Duke sent one up the Tower to see whether he could discover them marching; as soon as he came up, he saw them at the very entrance into the Town fighting with our Men. Here we had a small Skirmish, our Men being in the Fields adjoyning to the Town refreshing themselves; but it lasted not long, for before he could bring word, they were fled, being not above sixty Horse-Men: They did us mischief, killed and wounded above twenty Men, whereas we killed none of theirs, only took four Prisoners and their Horses, and wounded my Lord *Newburg*, that it was thought mortal; they came thither, thinking it had been their own Forces; and had not our undisciplin'd Fellows been a little too eager, and suffer'd 'em to come a little farther on, they would have entred the Town, and we must have had every man of them; their Infantry was following, but on their Return came not forward. These Forces being so near, and *Bristol* being so well mann'd also, the Duke was loth to pass the Bridge for *Bristol*, though some Gentlemen that came over with us, and were prescribed upon the account of the former Plot, being *Bristol-men*, and knew the hearts of the Towns-men, begg'd him heartily to proceed towards it, offering themselves to go in the Head of them into the Town,

by

by some private ways which they knew, assuring him, *They would make no Resistance*, but could not perswade him; which had we been Possessors of, we could not have wanted Money nor Arms, the only things needful for us in that Juncture; for had we but had Arms, I am perswaded we had by this time had in the least twenty thousand Men; and it would not then have been difficult for us to have march'd to *London*, with the Recruit of *Bristol*, the King not being able to make 7000 Men for the gaining of so many Kingdoms. But God saw it not fit for us, and over-ruled our Consultations to our own ruin; for this was in the top of our Prosperity; and yet all the while, not a Gentleman more than went over with us came to our assistance.

So we march'd on to *Bath*, we lay before it in the Afternoon, and sent in our *Trumpeter* to demand the Town, but they refused to give us Entrance, having a strong Garrison, it being a stout People and a strong place. Having no mind to spend time in laying Sieges, we march'd on that day to a little Town called *Phillips-Norton*, and there lay that night, being now *Sunday* the 26th of *June*, Old-Style, Saturday Morning preparing for

*Frome*, We were drawing out our baggage for our March, and on a sudden were alarmed with the appearance of the Enemy, who had entred the Town, and had lined all the Hedges, and began to fire on us: Here began the briskest Encounter we yet had, and for an hour or more we had a brisk Skirmish; but at last we beat them back, killing about thirty which lay in the place, and we lost about ten in all, and a few wounded:  
They

They retreating with their whole Army, pitched within a mile of the Town; and we went out also and pitched near them, but out of Musket-shot, playing Cannon one on another for some hours; they killed us but one man all the while, but with ours we did great execution, having the advantage of the ground; so at last they retreated, and I have been told lost some hundreds of men in the Battel, both killed and wounded: So we marched on for *Frome*, a Town where we were as beloved as at *Taunton*, where we wanted for nothing but Arms, which were by a Stratagem taken from them a few days before our entrance. Here came the unexpected News of *Argyle's* being defeated, and likewise of the advance of the Kings Force from *London* with considerable Baggage, and thirty Field-Pieces. This News, together with our want of Mony and Arms, (not seeing which way to avoid these Forces) we were at a stand, and not a little *non-plus'd*. 'Twas at last agreed on, that we that came with the Duke should get good Horses that Night, and so for *Poole*, a little Sea-Port Town not far off, where we were to seize a Ship, and set forth for *Holland* again, leaving our Infantry to the mercy of the Country.

This was much like that Resolution of the *Hollanders* in the time of the Civil War with *Spain*, being as we then were, in despair of making better Terms, and not daring to enter *Salisbury Plain*, because their Horse being so much better than ours, their Men being all Disciplin'd, ours not, we could not face them in so plain and open a Country, so that we retreated backward, in the mean time resolving to see what *London* would



would do, having a good opportunity offered them: The Soldiers being call'd forth, and not two thousand Men to be had for their defence if they had but attempted any thing; this disheartned our Men, and several of them coming home to their own Country, having felt by experience the hardships of War, withdrew from us.

We came well back again to *Bridgewater*, and were received with wonted Love; we arrived here on *Friday* the 3<sup>d</sup> of *July*, and resolved here to fortifie, so as to hold our ground till we heard from *London*. *Saturday* in the Afternoon news was brought of the Approach of the Kings Forces within a Mile and a half of the Town where they had encamped, the Duke went up into the Tower and there took a view of them, and seeing them so careless, and their Horse at some distance from the Army, in a little Town, the Infantry being in *Sedge Moore*. He called a Council on it, and it was concluded on, that we should fall on them in the dead of the Night, accordingly having a Guide to conduct us on in a private way, we march'd out at about 11 of the Clock in the night, & about one fell on them in their Tents. There was a Ditch between us, and the Guide promised to conduct 'em over an easie fordable place, but our Men seeing the Enemy just before them, ran furiously on and lost the Guide, so that while they endeavoured to recover over that place the Enemy got on their Legs, and put themselves in Order, & now began as fierce a Battel as perhaps ever was fought in *England* in so short a time; our Foot fought as well as ever Foot fought, but not a Horse came up; had our Horse but assisted, we must have beaten them out of the Field. But our Horses would not stand at  
the



the noise of Drums and Guns, so that we soon lost two of our Pieces of Ordinance, and we had but four in all, and then but one more in the Field; our Foot flung most of their Shot over, so that the Men for the most part were killed in the Rear, and that run, but the Front stood still; and had we done as much execution in the Front as we did in the Rear, the day had been our own; but God would not have it, their time was not yet come: By this time their Horses came up, and having six or eight hundred good disciplin'd Men, well mounted and well arm'd, ours neither; our Foot having shot away all their Ammunition, and our Baggage being not then in the Field, they were forced to retreat, being all in confusion.

Having no Mony left, and our Party thus unexpectedly repulsed, the Duke seeing he could not hold it any longer, fled with my Lord *Gray*.

The Duke's Party was said to be about three thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; we had more, at least five thousand Men and Horse, but not well Arm'd, yet in the Field: 'Tis said we lost not above three hundred, and they Foot; but after when we were routed in our retreat lost a vast many more; though they pursued not in some hours after.

The most remarkable Persons that were taken in this total Rout, were Colonel *Holmes*, Major *Perrot*, the Constable of *Crookhorn*, and Mr. *Williams*, Servant to the late Duke of *Monmouth*.

After the Field was clear of the Dukes Men, the Earl of *Feversham* marched with five hundred Foot and a Party of Horse and Dragoons to *Bridgewater*, where he found the Dukes Forces that were left there, fled and dispersed into several Places:

When

When his Lordship having left these Men in the Town, under the Command of Collonel Kirk, and hearing the late Duke of *Monmouth* was fled with about Fifty Horse, the greatest number of the Dukes Men that were left together, he sent out divers Parties in pursuit of him and others that fled the Field. When on the 7th of *July*, about five in the Morning, some of the Lord *Lumly's* Men seized the Lord *Gray* and another Person near *Holt-Lodge* in *Dorsetshire*, four Miles from the West of *Ringwood*; and the said Lord *Lumly* making further enquiry among the Cotts, was informed by one *Anna Ferrant* that two men went over a Hedge, proving to be the Out-bounds of many Inclosures, some of which were overgrown with Fern, others with Pease and Oats; but Guards being set upon the Avenues, after divers attempts to escape, the *Brandenburgh*, one of the Parties observed to enter the Ground, was taken on the 8th of *July*, about five in the morning, who confessing he departed from the late Duke of *Monmouth* about One of the Clock that morning in the Out-bounds, diligent search was made; when about Eleven of the Clock the same morning he was found, by one *Henry Parking*, hid in a Ditch, covered with Fern, who calling others to assist him, the said late Duke was in the end taken, and together with the Lord *Gray*, and the *Brandenburgh*, with a strong Guard brought by easie Journies to *Whitehall*, where they arrived on the 13th of *July*, and after some examination were committed to the Tower, when on *Wednesday* the 15th of *July*, the late Duke of *Monmouth*, pursuant to a Warrant signed for his Execution, upon his

his attaindure of *High-Treason*, was delivered to the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, about Ten in the Morning, and conducted to a Scaffold erected on *Tower-Hill*, where after about half an hours continuance, he laying down his Head, had it stricken off by the Executioner, the which, together with his Body, being put into a Coffin covered with Velvet, were carried away in a Velvet-covered Hearse, in order to his Interment.

After the Duke was beheaded, many Prisoners taken, and those that fled by Parcels up and down, secured in divers Goals, in order to their Prosecution, as vvas said according to Law; which was the occasion of this great Mans shewving his parts at that Degree as he did, no one else fit to be made a Tool for such a Bloody Tragedy as he acted.

The Tryals were deferred (for some time after the Fatal Blow given to the Duke of *Monmouth*, on *Tower-Hill*, which was the 15th of *July* following) because of my Lords being at *Tunbridge*; but the latter end of *August*, he with a Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, assisted with four other Judges, set forward with a Party of Horse, he being made by special Commission their General. The first place he came at was *Winchester*, where were divers Prisoners on Suspicion; but here began the Tragedy; for the Lady *Lisle* was there Arraigned for *High-Treason*, in harbouring Mr. *Hicks* and Mr. *Nelthrope*, that had been concerned with the Duke; the Lady being on her Tryal, the Jury were dissatisfied once and again; but my Lords Threats and other Managery, so disposed the Jury, that at last they brought

brought the Lady in Guilty ; on which he pronounced the Sentence of Death on her, as usual in such Cases ; but she had the favour of being Beheaded ; their other Prisoners were carried to *Salisbury* ; and this was the most remarkable thing at that Assizes.

From thence they set forward for *Salisbury* ; where were many Prisoners that had been pick'd up and down the Country, then in the Goal, the which, with those that were brought from *Win-ton*, were ordered to be carried to *Dorchester*, there not being Evidence enough to accomplish what was then designed by my Lord ; so that little of moment passed there, but to pursue the matter, proceeds from thence to *Dorchester*, where he with his Assistants, Gown-men, and Sword-men, arrived on the 3d of *September*, on which day being *Thursday*, the Commission was read. *Friday* morning was an excellent Sermon Preached before their Lordships, by a worthy Divine, Chaplain to a worthy Person of that County, much tending to Mercy : It was observed, that while my Lord Chief Justice was at Church in Prayers, as well as at Sermon, he -vvas seen to laugh, which was so unbecoming a Person in his Character, that ought in so weighty an Affair as he was then entering upon, to have been more serious, and have craved the help and assistance of God Almighty.

The Sermon being over, their Lordships repaired to the Court, which by order of the Lord Chief Justice was hung with Red Cloth, a Colour suitable to such a succeeding bloody Tragedy, being accompanied by a numerous Company of the Gentry of that County, as vvell as the Flower  
of

of the Neighbouring Countries of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*, and then proceeded to give his Charge, in which Charge, by reason of the Severity of his Sentiments, and Positions laid down to make discoveries of all such as were Abettors; Aiders or Assistants to the late Duke of *Monmouth*, on pain of *High Treason*, which was a great Surprize to all the Auditors, and so vehemently urged, and so passionately expressed, as seemed rather the Language of a *Romish Inquisitor*, than a *Protestant Judge*; and then Adjourned until Eight of the Clock next Morning, when was a Bill found against Thirty Persons, charged for *High Treason*, for Aiding and Assisting the late Duke of *Monmouth*; who put themselves on their Trials, notwithstanding my Lord's Threatning, *That in Case any did put themselves on Trial, and the Country found them Guilty, they should have but a little time to live.* And at the same time insinuated, *That it were better to plead Guilty, if they expected any favour.*

These Thirty being on Trial, the Evidences being sworn and examined before the *Jury*: Upon the whole, by the violent Deportment of the *Lord Chief Justice*, and sharpness of the *Jury*, they found Twenty-nine Guilty, though some of them were very hardly dealt with, and not so Criminal as my Lord and their Country imagined. Particularly amongst the Twenty-nine, were Mr. *Matthew Bragg* of *Thorncomb*, and *Joseph Speed* of *Culliton*, in the County of *Devonshire*, and Mr. *Smith*, Constable of *Chardstock*, in the said County, and *George Steward* of *Culliton* aforesaid. The Circumstances of each of these, and the severity of their being found Guilty, &c. shall be shewed in its proper

proper place, before we take leave of this Town, and proceed on in this *Western Expedition*.

The said Twenty-nine being found (as before) Guilty, my Lord immediately pronounced Sentence of Death on them all, as usual in Cases of *High-Treason*, and did the same Night give a Warrant to the Sheriff, for the Execution of Thirteen of the Twenty-nine on Monday following; which accordingly was done, notwithstanding great Application was made to the Lord Chief Justice by Gentlemen of the best Quality, in this and the Neighbouring Countries, for a Reprieve of Mr. *Bragg*, to all which he was Deaf, and not to be prevailed upon; though he was assured of his Honesty, and true Conformity to the Church of *England*, yet it availed nothing. At last, it was only requested for Ten days Respite, yet that had no better effect; but on Monday, he with Twelve more of that number, were accordingly Executed at *Dorchester*.

In the mean time, this Proceeding was designed to shorten Business, and to wheedle the rest that were to follow to a Confession, which without it, the tenth part of them could not be proved Guilty. A Method was also taken without President, to entrap many poor ignorant people, by a couple of Officers that were sent into the Goal, to call over, and take the Names of the Prisoners; on promise, if they confest, they might expect Mercy, otherwise not; which many did. And this was written so, that had they pleaded Not Guilty, these two were designed to have been Evidences against them from their own Confessions, which so disposed the remaining great Numbers, that all, except

a very few, Pleaded Guilty, which put an end to any further Trial.

The only thing remaining, was the pronouncing of Sentence on them, which were in Number 292. who received Sentence of Death all at once. One Mr. Lawrence put himself on Trial, but by the Jury found Guilty, whose Case was hard, his Circumstances being so small to be condemned to die; and had actually suffered, had not Application been made to my Lord's Favourites, and with the payment and securing of 400 l. preserved him from Execution.

This Matter being adjusted, and Execution awarded to about Eighty, which were Executed, and their Quarters sent up and down the Country to the dread of their Spectators, as well as the Annoyance of the Travellers; his extraordinary Whippings, though unmerciful, are not to be taken notice of; so we leave this place, and proceed towards the City of Exon: In their way thither, lying at an Honourable Gentlemans House, divers of the Neighbouring Parishes made their Petitions to the Lord Chief Justice in behalf of some Relations concerned. It hapned, that through some disorder amongst his Servants, some Pistols were fired in the Night, which gave him a Suspicion, or at least he took it, of some design upon him; on which at parting, he said, *Not a man of all those Parishes that were of that Vicintude, if found Guilty, should escape.* And so we proceed and arrive at Exon, where to the number of 243 Prisoners being in Custody for assisting the said Duke of Monmouth, one amongst the rest, Mr. Fowler Acers pleading not Guilty, he being found by the



Jury, the said Lord Chief Justice immediately pronounced the Sentence upon him, and immediate Execution, which was done to terrifie the rest, who all Pleaded Guilty; so that these unfortunate People had not time to have the fairness of Trials allowed them, which is a right due by the Laws of God and Man. The remaining number he all condemned; and here was a little sparing; not so many order'd Execution as was in the other County, but those that were executed, were hung up and down in most Towns of the County, and their Quarters and Heads scattered up and down the High-ways and publick places. An extraordinary Sentence of severe Whipping was pronounced against Mr. *Samuel Staple of Thorncomb* in the said County; but these are Trifles, and we shall endeavour to pursue our Design, and make as quick dispatch as we can, that time may not be lost, the King served, and this Miscreants thirst quenched with Protestant Blood, which is always well-pleasing to Inquisitors, and so proceed to the Town of *Taunton*. At which place being arrived, it was thought fit by the *Lord Chief Justice* to be as expeditious as might be; so that late in the Afternoon the Court sat, where the Commission being read, he proceeded to give the Charge, which was so very keen and full of sharp Invectives, as if the Country it self had not been able to make Expiation to his Lordship, to quench his Thirst in the Blood of those that ventur'd their All in Defence of the *Protestant Religion*; and here we enter upon the bloodiest part of the Tragedy. In this Tovyn, and at *Wells* in the said County, were more than 500 Prisoners.



To begin at *Taunton* : The next Morning after the Charge given, the Assizes began, vvhere some fevv put themselves on Trial, vvho vvere found Guilty, and immediately ordered to be Executed ; of vvhich number one Mr. *Simon Hamlin* vvvas one, vvho vvvas a zealous vvorthy good Man, and his Case no vvay dangerous, but on the contrary, had he had to do with a Judge of another Stamp. To proceed to the rest : This first Cruelty caused the rest to plead Guilty in hopes of favour, which was only a few days to live, which those that pleaded had not. Amongst these, at *Taunton* were divers eminent Persons that had been taken in the *West*, and carried to *London*, and brought down there to compleat the Bloody Tragedy in those parts: Mr. *Parrot*, Mr. *Hewling* the Elder, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Hucker*, and divers others were very eminent. To take notice of every particular in this Matter, will alter our Design, and swell the Book to too great a Bulk, being ony designed for a Pocket Companion, and useful it may be to see the Cruelty of men when in their Power, and how the Devil stirreth up his Instruments, to pursue those that adventure for the Cause of God and Religion. Here were in this County Executed 239. the rest that were Condemned were Transported, except such as were able to furnish Coin, and that not a little ; for an account was taken of mens Abilities, according to which, the purchase for Life must be managed by two of his Favourites, who had a small share, the rest went into his Lordships Pocket ; according to the Actions of *Rome*, where Sins of any kind may be pardoned for mony. This indeed was a glorious Design

in the Eve of *Mother Church*, to root out Heresie by Executions and Transportations, to make room for a pack; here Expedition must be made to conclude at *Wells*, for that a great Man being fallen, our great Judge designing his Chair, which in short, he had has the Reward of so eminent and extraordinary a piece of Service as he did for the Advancement of the *Roman Catholicks* Interest, which is cruel always where it prevails.

Thus we leave the Town of *Taunton*, after awarding Execution to many there, and their Quarters to be scattered up and down the County, and so we proceed to *Wells*, where divers Prisoners that had been carried from Goal to Goal, in expectation of Evidence against them, were in Carts removed to *Wells*; in which place, to finish this Expedition, the same Method as was at the former Assizes, was also taken here by a severe Charge, affronting the Gentlemen of this County, as he had done in all the Counties before, terrifying the Juries (when any pleaded) to make them to bring in the persons Guilty; some of which being overawed, and it is doubted, contrary to their Judgments, which if so, *the Lord forgive them*.

Here were many eminent and worthy persons that received the Sentence of Death, but the Executions of the County being put together, as you have before seen, we make no particular Division of the Number here, and the Number at *Taunton*, the whole being recited before: We shall therefore endeavour to be as brief as we can, to give you what we think material, and truly matter of Fact; my Lord now being come to conclude this extraordinary Commission, and in haste to be elevated,

elevated, maketh all manner of dispatch to repair to the King then at *Windsor*, to give an Account of his Transactions, and to receive the Reward of his meritorious Service in this Butchering of Protestants, which is so acceptable to his Holiness, and his bigotted Disciples, as nothing can be more; and indeed, if you will believe them, a Work that merits Heaven at last, besides what Temporal Preferments are thought fit in this World. If this cruel Judge were a true Protestant, his Case is much the worse, being made use of as a Tool to destroy, and carry on *Popish Designs*. Thus the Affairs being ended, the Country filled with Heads and Quarters of those that were Executed, the rest that had not wherewith to purchase their Lives, left in Custody in order to Transportation; My Lord being come to the King to give an Account of his Affairs in the *West*, the Great Seal being to be disposed of by the Death of the late Keeper, he kiss'd the King's Hand for it, and was made *Lord Chancellor*; which was only an earnest of his Desert for so eminent and extraordinary a piece of Service; so now that which remains, is to give an Account of divers that had fled, and hid themselves up and down in Holes and Privacies, whose Friends made all Application to some great Men or other to procure their Pardons; some to this, and others to such as they thought Favourites of the King; but the Rewards must be ascertained before any Application could be made: Divers Lists being sent up, and the Rewards ascertained, which amongst many of them put together, did amount to considerable, so that it was now, who could find a Friend

to relieve his distressed Relations, which were forced to wander up and down in Caves and Deserts, for fear of being taken: But this Misfortune attended the Agents, that unless my *Lord Chancellor* were used, by his Creatures, that were allowed by him so to do; other Applications commonly met with Disappointments, which caused an Emulation among the great Men; one supposing to have deserved the King's Ear as well as the other, which caused other Measures to be taken, though some were wheedled out of their money. At last came out a General Pardon, with Exceptions, very few, if any of those that were solicited for, not being excepted, were of course pardoned; but however, divers Sums of Money having been paid, no Restitution to be had, for *from Hell is no Redemption*. A worthy *Western Gentleman's* purchase came to fifteen or sixteen hundred Guinea's, which my *Lord Chancellor* had. Amongst the Exceptions were a parcel of *Taunton* Girls, some of which were Children of Eight or Ten years old, however, something was to be made of them, if these Ladies were judged Guilty of Treason for presenting the Duke of *Monmouth* with Colours, &c. and for to preserve these from Trial, they were given to Maids of Honour to make up their *Christmas Box*; so that an Agent of theirs was sent down into the Country to compound with their Parents, to preserve them from what might after follow, if taken; so, that some according to Ability, gave 100 *l.* others 50 *l.* all which however did not answer the Ladies first Expectations; yet it did satisfy, and they were accordingly pardoned. Thus we have given you

an Account of what hath happened on this Occasion, being in every Point truth: We might have farther Enlarged, but that would have spoiled the Design, and swoln our Pocket Companion to a Volume too big.

We shall therefore next proceed to give you a true and exact List of all them that were condemned, and suffer'd in the *West*, in the year 1685. under the Sentence of my Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys*. With the Names of the Towns where every Man was executed.

## Bath 6.

<b>W</b> alter Baker	Thomas Clotworthy
Henry Body	Thomas Collins
Gerrard Bryant	John Carter.

## Phillipsnorton 12.

Robert Cook	Henry Portridge
Edward Creaves	George Pether
John Caswell	Thomas Peirce
Thomas Hayward	John Richards
John Hellier	John Staple
Edward Beere	John Smith.

## Froome 12.

Francis Smith	John Humphrey
Samuel Vile alias Vile	George Hasty
Thomas Star	Robert Man
Philip Usher	Thomas Pearle
Robert Beamant	Lawrence Lott
William Clement	Thomas Lott.

## Buton 3.

James Feildsen	Richard Bole.
Humphrey Braden	

Wincanton 6.

John Howel

William Holland

Richard Harvey

Hugh Holland

John Tucker

Thomas Bowden.

Shepton-Mallet 13.

Stephen Mallet

John Hildworth.

Joseph Smith

John Ashwood

John Gilham, Jun.

Thomas Smith

Giles Bramble

John Dorchester, Senior

Richard Chinn

John Combe

William Cruise

John Groves.

George Pavier

Wensford 12.

Roger Cornelius

Henry Russel

John Starr

George Knight

Humphry Edwards

Robert Wine

William Pierce

William Clerk alias Chick

Arther Sullway

Preston Bevis

George Adams.

Richard Finier.

Widrington 3.

Alexander Key

Joshua French.

David Boyse

Wells 8.

William Mead

John Sheperd

Thomas Coade

Abraham Bend

Robert Doleman

William Durston

Thomas Durston

William Plumley.

Wibestcomb 3.

William Ruscomb

Robert Combe.

Thomas Pierce

Tuton upon Mendip 2.

Peter France

William Watkins.

Thorn

# George Lord Jeffreys.

39

## Chesh 12.

Edward Foote

John Knight

William Williams

John Gervis

Humphry Hitchcock

William Godfrey

Abraham Pill

William Dwy

Henry Easterbrook

James Dennett

Edward Warren

Simon Cross.

## Crookern 10.

John Spore

Roger Burnoll

William Pether

James Ivory

Robert Hill

Nicholas Adams

Richard Stephens

Robert Halfwell

John Busbel

William Lashly.

## Donnerton 7.

William Gillet

Thomas Liffant

William Pocock

Christopher Stephens

George Cannick

Robert Allen

Joseph Kelloway.

## Reobil 8.

Francis Foxwell

George Pitcher

Bernard Devereux

Bernard Thatcher for  
concealing Bovet.

William Johnson

Thomas Hurford

Edward Gillard

Oliver Powel.

## Ratherstoe 3.

Humphrey Mitchel

Richard Culverell

Merrick Thomas.

## Dunster 3.

Henry Lackwell

John Geanes

William Sully.

## Dulberton 3.

John Basely

John Lloyd

Henry Thompson.

Bridge



## The Life and Death of

Bridgewater 12.

Robert Fraunces	Nicholas Stodgell
Joshua Bellamy	Richard Engram
William Moggeridge	John Trott
John Hurman	Roger Guppy
Robert Roper	Roger Hore
Richard Harris	Isaiah Davis.

Ratcliffe-Hill at Bristol 6.

Richard Evans	Edward Tippet
John Tinckwell	Philip Cambridge
Christopher Clerk	John Tucker alias Glover.

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Stephen Newman	Thomas Tocke
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William Kitch	Western Hillary
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William Wellen	Charles Speake

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Hugh Ashley	John Herring.
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Francis Priest	Robert Reed.
Philip Bouet	

Southpetherton 3.

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John Parsons	

Dorlock 2.

James Gale	Henry Edry.
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Glascenbury 6.

John Hicks	William Mead
Richard Pearce	James Pyes
Israel Briant	John Broome

Taunton

## Taunton 19.

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 Abraham Ansley  
 Benjamin Hewling  
 Abraham Matthews  
 William Jenkins  
 Henry Lisle  
 John Dryer  
 John Hucker  
 Jonathan England  
 John Sharpe

Peirce Murren  
 John Freake  
 John Savage  
 William Deverson  
 John Williams  
 John Patrum  
 James Whitton  
 William Satchel  
 John Trickey

## Langport 3

Humphrey Peirce  
 Nicholas Venton

John Shellwood

## Arbidge 6.

Isaac Tripp  
 Thomas Burnell  
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John Gill, Senior  
 Thomas Monday  
 John Butcher

## Cuthberton 2.

Richard Bover

Thomas Blackmore

## Winehead 6.

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 Hugh Starke  
 Francis Barlett

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 Samuel Hawkins  
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Hugh Goodenough  
 Samuel Cox  
 William Somerton  
 John Masters  
 John Walrand  
 David Langwell

Osmond Barret  
 Matthew Cross  
 Edward Burford  
 John Mortimer  
 John Stevens  
 Robert Tunnsden

# The Life and Death of Seagummett 3.

George Hillard  
John Lockstone

Arthur Williams

## Castletary 3.

Richard Ash  
Samuel Garnish

Robert Hinde

## Milton-port 2.

Archibald Johnson

James Maxwell

## Keinsham 11.

Charles Chepman  
Ricard Bowden  
Thomas Trock  
Lewis Harris  
Edward Halfwell  
Howel Thomas

George Badol  
Richard Evans  
John Winter  
Andrew Rownsden  
John Phillefrey.  
Suffer'd in all

239

This Bloody Tragedy in the *West* being over, our *Protestant* Judge returns for *London*; soon after which *Alderman Cornish* felt the anger of some body behind the Curtain; for it is to be Noted, that he was Sheriff when *Best* prayed an Indictment might be prefer'd, and was, as well as Sheriff *Bethel*, earnest in promoting it; in alledging, that it was no ways reasonable that the Juries of *London* should lie under such a reproach, &c. But passing this over, we now find this Person Arriv'd at the Pinnacle of Honour; the *Purse* and *Mace* were reserved for him, vacant by the Death of the Lord Keeper *North*, and he advanced to the Lord Chancellourship of *England*; rais'd by this means, as one might think, above the Envy of the Croud; and it might be wished, in so dangerous

ous

ous a height he had looked better to his Footsteps; for now being created *Baron of Wem*, we find him in a High Commission, or Ecclesiastical Court, Suspending the Honourable Lord Bishop of *London* from performing the Episcopal Office and Function of that *See*, and for no other default, than not readily complying with the Kings Letter in Suspending *Dr. Sharp*, Dean of *Norwich*, for Preaching a Sermon in the Parish Church of *St. Giles* in the Fields, at the request of the Parishioners, shewing the Errors and Fallacies of the Romish Religion; the better to confirm them in the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of *England*. Nor was it this good Bishop alone that was aimed at; for *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford* was next attempted, and in that very Mother of Learning, and Chief Seminary of our Church, such alterations made, as startled the Kingdom; by whose Counsel I undertake not to determine; but in the midst of Liberty of Conscience, as twice declared. The Church of *England* had a Test put upon her Sons, which seemed such a Paradox that has been rarely heard of, *viz.* To Read the Kings Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in the Churches, during the time of Divine Service, and a Mark, and Penalties threatned to the Refusers; which was evidently demonstrated, by the Imprisonment of those pious Patriots of their Country, and Pillars of the Church: His Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, *Chichester*, *St. Asaph*, and *Bristol*; who for shewing their Reasons, why they could not comply with this Command, by way of Humble Petition, were sent

sent to the *Tower*, and afterwards Tried upon Information of High Misdemeanour, at the Court of *Kings-Bench*; where their Innocency appearing in a large manner, they were acquitted, to the scandal of their Accusers: yet Orders were sent into all parts of *England*, to return an account to the Lord Chancellor, of those that refused to Read the Declaration, that they might be proceeded against, for a Contempt of what their Consciences would not permit them to do, and for a time they were extreemly hot upon it. Much about this time there was a considerable Suit depending before him in Chancery, between a great Heiress and others, which was sufficiently talk'd of in the World; not without loud and deep reflections on his Honesty and Honour: for having given the Cause for the young Lady, he very speedily afterwards married her to his Son; with this remarkable Circumstance, She being a Papist, to make sure Work, he married them both ways; both by a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, and a Divine of the Church of *England*. And here I think we may place the Heighth and Acme of his Honour and Happiness, where he's not like to tarry long; for on the News of the great Preparations in *Holland*, and that the Prince of *Orange* was certainly design'd for *England*, the determined Councils cool'd, and then quite ceas'd, so that the Church of *England-men*, whose Cause the Prince had espoused, were restored again to the Commissions and Trusts they had (by what Justice I know not) been lately deprived of; and amongst other Charters that were on this occasion restored, was that of the City of *London*; and that which makes

makes it more memorable, was, that it was brought to *Guild-Hall* by this Person, tho he was not attended with the Shouts and Acclamation he expected, nor seem'd so florid or frolicksome as heretofore, which some looked upon as a bad Omen; and it's reported, soon after he being ask'd by a Courtier, *What the Heads of the Princes Declaration were?* he should answer, *He was sure his was one, whatever the rest were.*

The Court by this time beginning to scatter, and the Prince of *Orange* approaching, the King thought fit to withdraw himself, upon notice of which, the Lord Chancellor betook himself to *Wapping*, disguised like a Sea-man, in order to his escape to *Hamborough*, in a Collier; but being \* discovered, he was

\* And behold thou art taken in thy mischief, because thou art a bloody Man, 2 Sam. 16. v. 8.

brought before Sir *J. Chapman*, Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, in a strange disguise, very different from the Habit in which he formerly appeared: And by reason of the Lord Mayors Indisposition, he not being able to Commit him, he offered to go to the Tower, to be out of the hands of Rabble, who there in great numbers with clubs and staves, threatned him with present destruction: But having a Guard of the Train'd-bands to conduct him, he got thither safe, and soon after was charged in custody by a Warrant of Commitment from the Lords at *Whitehall*, where he continued under much affliction and indisposition; having since moved for his *Habeas Corpus* to be bailed, but was not able to attain it. Thus he continued for some months in the Tower, his Chronical Indispositions, the Stone, &c. encreasing very fast upon him.

The ingenious Dr. *Lower* was his Physician: But

Nature being now tired out by a tedious Combat with his Disease, and the Guilt of his former bloody Life, we hope it touched his Conscience. He having besides, by his intemperate Life, notoriously known, contracted an ill habit of Body, he at last very happily for himself, if not his Relations too, dy'd in the Tower—— the —— Morning, about Nine of the Clock, *An. Dom.* 1689.—Thus, Reader, you have seen the Rise and Fall of this unfortunate, Great, Ill Man; And so, at present, after we have endeavour'd at his Character, we take our Farewel.

*Jeffreys's Character.*

**H**E was of Stature rather above a middle sort than below it; his Complexion inclining to Fair; his Face well enough, full of a certain briskness, tho' mixt with an Air a little malicious and unpleasant. He was a man of tolerable Sense, and had, as of necessity he must by so long practice and going through such publick Places, got some Law, tho' as little as 'twas, more than he had occasion to make use of; since the Dispensing Power having as good as seated all Law in the Kings Breast; he by that found out a more commendous method of attaining it than was formerly known. He had a pretty large stock of Ill Nature, and Wit, in which lay his greatest Excellency, tho' a very unenvy'd one. But in fine, His Brow and his Tongue were absolutely the two best Accomplishments he was Master of—By the help of which, and that before mentioned, by his brisk, sudden, and sharp Interrogatories, he sometimes put falshood, and perhaps oftner, the truth it self,




self, out of countenance. But that ill-favour'd Wit which he had, lay all of the wrong side; muchlike that of those unlucky Animals, all whose Wit lies in tricks and mischief. He spoke many pleasant things, but very few handsom ones, disgracing all with intolerable Railing, mean passions, and perfect *Billingsgate*, and would commonly even upon the Bench it self, fall into Heats both as to words and actions, not only unworthy of a Judge, but even of any prudent man. He seem'd, without wronging him, to have a great deal of baseness, and cruelty in his Nature, having a particular delight, and relish in cruelty and blood, and such things as give horror & aversion to all the rest of mankind. He was in this case worse than even *Nero*; for whereas that Monster had once so much good Nature, or at least pretended it, that when he was to sign a Warrant for the execution of a Malefactor, he is said to have wish'd, he had never learnt to write: *Jeffreys* on the other side, then only seem'd in his Element, when in the midst of Destruction and Murther. For his Religion—What a sort of one 'twas, his Life past sufficiently tells us; tho he and his Good Brother Commissioner the *Balswagger* of *Chester*, maliciously, persuade the world, that they were of the Church of *England*; that after they cou'd do it no more mischief with their Lives, they might disgrace it by their Deaths, pretending both to die in that Communion.—But 'tis mean to follow 'em any further, unless with a wish somewhat like that handsom one History leaves us, *That all K. VVilliam and Q. Mary's Enemies were as honourably bury'd*—Or, in the inspired words of a greater Person,—*So, O Lord, let all thine Enemies perish.*

FINIS.



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